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The role of civil society for community development in contemporary India: a case of an NGO for the sweeper caste in Rajasthan

Yui Masuki^{*}

Master Student, Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies, Kyoto University. Research Bldg. No. 2, Yoshida-Honmachi, Sakyo-ku, Kyoto, 6068501, Japan

Abstract

This study clarifies the role of an NGO in transforming the discriminatory social status of the Dalits (Untouchables), and its implications for sustainable community development. Subduing the discriminatory relationship between Dalits and other local people will not only uplift them socioeconomically, but also expand their opportunity for communication, enabling the construction of inter-personal relationships between the discriminating and the discriminated against. The NGO plays an important role in facilitating this communication and implementing national and global level sanitation. This study illustrates the dynamic process of transforming discriminatory social relationships and the complicated mechanism of Dalit discrimination in contemporary India.

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1. Introduction

After gaining independence from British colonial rule in 1947, the government of India has made several trial and error attempts to abolish discrimination against the Dalits (Untouchables). The Dalits are those who were located at the bottom of the Hindu caste hierarchical system. Their traditional occupations consisted of skinning/tanning, sweeping/scavenging, washing, and butchery, which were thought to be “polluted” or an “impurity,” especially from

^{*} Corresponding author. Tel.: +81-75-753-7167.

E-mail address: masuki.yui@asafas.kyoto-u.ac.jp

upper caste people's perspectives^{1,†}. Therefore, the Dalits were discriminated against by the upper castes. The upper castes did not want to personally touch, talk, and eat with Dalits traditionally, and there had been strong social restrictions that made it impossible for Dalits to enter a Hindu temple, enroll in school, and use common wells to pull water with the upper castes. In order to liberate the Dalits from those politically, economically, and socially disadvantaged conditions, the Indian government has implemented various kinds of policies to safeguard their rights and equality from political, educational, and economical perspectives. Additionally, the Indian Constitution of 1949 and 1955 clearly specifies the abolition of untouchability, and any religious, occupational, and social discrimination against Dalits has become punishable. However, the social discrimination against these Dalits as "polluted" has still remained, and the abolition of Dalit discrimination has continued to be one of the most important themes in contemporary India. How, then, can Dalits be liberated from discrimination?

Previous studies have presented arguments regarding this issue mainly from two perspectives. One is from a political and economic point of view that analyzes the reservation policy or economic uplift policy² or puts focus on a social reform movement from Dalits³. The other is a social and cultural perspective that seeks to understand the concept of pollution as a core element of Dalit discrimination⁴. Although Dalit discrimination has to be understood holistically from both political/economic and social/cultural points of view, the perspective that crosses the bridge between these two approaches has been ignored. That is to say, there have not been adequate arguments that actually help realize the public participation and economic uplift of Dalits nor the easing of the discrimination that has been supported by the concept of pollution.

In India since the 1960s, the government has been urged to contend with a serious sanitation issue, which has emerged in conjunction with rapid modernization and urbanization. The government's efforts, particularly for tackling open defecation and construction of water-flush toilets, has implications both to improve the sanitation problem and to liberate manual scavengers. Most manual scavengers belong to the sweeper caste, who were located at the bottom of the Dalits caste itself, which means it is the lowest of the low. Their traditional occupation was mainly to collect human waste from dry latrines in every household in the community and carry it away by themselves, which was thought to be the most "polluted" occupation by local people, especially the upper caste. For this reason, they have been socially discriminated against and local people did not want contact with them. The policy of the government has been significantly shifting since the 1990s to the present, placing importance on the rehabilitation of manual scavengers and their dependents in order to give them alternative occupations, as well as implementing the sanitation movement with the installment of water-flush toilets in both urban and rural areas of India. In 1993, the central government enacted the law called "The Employment of Manual Scavengers and Construction of Dry Latrines (Prohibition) Act," which punishes anyone who employs manual scavengers or constructs dry latrines, and which also places importance on the rehabilitation of manual scavengers. Since 2007, the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment from the government of India introduced the "Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers" to promote the rehabilitation of the sweeper caste, in cooperation with civil society. In 2013, the government passed the law called "The Prohibition of Employment as Manual Scavengers and their Rehabilitation Act," which revised the act of 1993 and established more severe punishments.

At the same time, Indian civil society, such as Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), have been trying to implement various grassroots level activities to liberate manual scavengers that belong to the sweeper caste from the inhumane practices of collecting night soil and the social discriminations based on occupational "impurity." Some NGOs in Gujarat and Rajasthan, which are located in the western part of India, were active in installing water-flush toilets in households and abolishing dry latrines in the 1960s and 1970s in conjunction with state governments⁵. However, the rehabilitation of the sweeper caste and their socio-economic uplift remained unachieved. After the 1990s, the recommendation of the Public-Private Partnership (PPP) increased both in the international and central government levels, especially in the scope of urban planning⁶. In response to this, NGOs and government or municipal authorities started to cooperate together in order to promote both sanitation and rehabilitation of the

[†]In India, everything that is secreted from one's body, such as blood, faces, and urine, have been thought to be the source of "impurity." Moreover, touching an animal's hide and skin were believed to cause impurity. Therefore, those who engaged in such occupations have been considered to be "polluted" or "impure," and the upper caste people avoided contact with them.

sweeper caste. Although the promotion of rehabilitation had been conducted by civil society, it is important to note that, compared to the installment of water-flush toilets, the speed of the rehabilitation process in bequeathing alternative occupations to the sweeper caste has remained quite low⁷.

In my study, I focus on one Indian NGO called “*Sulabh International*” (hereafter Sulabh) that intends to install water-flush toilets in each household on a national level from the 1990s onward and eliminate discrimination against the Dalits, especially the sweeper caste, through promotion of daily communication, vocational training, and literacy training, promoting both the Dalits’ public participation and their economic uplift. I especially analyze the sweeper caste members who have been located at the bottom of the Dalits’ caste and engaging in the manual scavenging of dry toilets in other castes’ households. The reason I chose this one particular NGO is that, compared to other Indian NGOs promoting sanitation and sweeper caste liberation in India, there are few NGOs that cover the technological part (installment of water-flush toilet), the socio-economic part (vocational training for sweeper caste), and the socio-cultural part (easing discrimination against sweeper caste in daily life) simultaneously. As mentioned above, discrimination against the Dalits consists of not just political and economic aspects but also social and cultural aspects. Therefore, the activity of Sulabh is helpful in analyzing the process of the transformation of discrimination against the sweeper caste, because it promotes sanitation, vocational training, and interaction between the discriminating and the discriminated against. Through this multi-dimensional approach, this study attempts to substantiate the transformation of discrimination on the whole through the NGO’s activity. This paper aims to introduce primarily the following two factors: (1) the relationship between sweeper caste liberation and the movement to install water-flush toilets in India, and (2) the process of promoting communication between the sweeper caste and other local people in order to change the discriminatory social relationships, which is the most important factor in subduing discriminatory relationships, by focusing particularly on Sulabh on the grassroots level.

2. Methodology of Research

The methods are as follows. First, I conduct a literature survey on the sanitation movement. I use government documents, newspapers, and NGO publications as primary sources. Second, I conduct fieldwork in the vocational training center for the sweeper caste members who had been engaged in scavenging, which the Indian NGO called “*Sulabh International*”[‡] has been promoting since 2008 in Tonk City, located in the eastern part of the state of Rajasthan. Sulabh International was established in 1970 by Dr. Bindeshwar Pathak, who belonged to the upper caste in Patna, the capital of the State of Bihar in the northern part of India. The central office is now located in New Delhi, and it has promoted the installment of public toilets and helped install water-flush toilets in households throughout India. It also promoted vocational training and education for manual scavengers who mainly belong to sweeper caste, giving them alternative occupations. In addition to Tonk City in Rajasthan, Sulabh has established vocational training centers for the sweeper caste in other places in India, such as Delhi in 1992 and Alwar, Rajasthan in 2003. In this study, I focus on Tonk because it is the newest Sulabh vocational training center and the processes of socio-economic and socio-cultural empowerment of the sweeper caste people is currently developing, so it provides a better view of that process than the other two locations. The main method for the survey is participatory observation and a semi-structured interview for all 151 sweeper caste women in the vocational training center in Tonk City. I conducted this type of survey for one month, from February to March, and two months, from July to August, in 2014.

3. Brief Backgrounds of the Sweeper Caste and the Manual Scavenging Practice

The sweeper caste, who had been engaged in manual scavenging in dry latrines in other castes’ households, were traditionally located at the bottom of the Indian social hierarchy system, often called the “caste system.” However,

[‡] The full name of this NGO is “*Sulabh International Social Service Organization*” and the substantial headquarter is located in New Delhi, the capital of India. “Sulabh” literally means “simple” or “easy” in Hindi and the twin-pit water flush toilet that Sulabh invented is called “*Sulabh Shuchalaya*” (simple toilets).

not all sweeper caste people have engaged in manual scavenging. Only some were responsible for this task. In Tonk City, there was a patron-client relationship between the sweeper caste and other local people. Some sweeper caste members had a contract with a specific caste or other non-Hindus, and they, often women, collected human excreta from dry toilets in their employers' households. On average, in the case of Tonk City, one sweeper caste household had between 15 and 20 employers. The social class and religion of their employers varied from the upper caste to Dalits (those not belonging to sweeper caste), and from Hindu to Muslim. Every morning, sweeper caste women went to collect human excreta from dry latrines in their employers' households, and they received little monetary compensation (only 10 to 30 rupees[§] per household) and leftover food from the previous night for their work. They collected excreta with a wood or iron stick and put it in a basket or on a plate. They then carried the collected excreta to the container that the city office had installed, but they often disposed it off in the jungle because the container was not properly used. They came and went about five times before their task was complete, which was thought to be strongly problematic from a humanitarian perspective.

4. The Link between Sweeper Caste Liberation and the Installment of Water-flush Toilets

In order to eradicate this inhumane practice, Sulabh, together with the government and other organizations such as UNICEF and WHO, started to help install water-flush toilets in each household and implement an awareness program, so that people could flush human excreta with water and eliminate the need for it to be scavenged. Together in cooperation with the Indian government, as above, Sulabh also provided community toilets (public toilets) in parts of India, such as sightseeing places, hospitals, bus stands in Delhi, Maharashtra, Uttar Pradesh, and Rajasthan, and many other states and cities. The Sulabh public toilets require users to pay a small amount of money (usually 2 rupees) per use. Since 2008 in Tonk City, with cooperation from the local government, Sulabh has helped install water-flush toilets in households that previously had dry latrines. At the same time, Sulabh established a vocational training center in Tonk City in order to provide alternative jobs for members of the sweeper caste who had engaged in manual scavenging. In the vocational training center, sweeper caste women have been trained in stitching, tailoring, beauty parlor work, and primary education.

However, it was learned, from the semi-structured interview of 50 randomly sampled sweeper caste women taken from the group of over 151 women in the Sulabh vocational training center in Tonk City, that they were also engaged in cleaning the water-flush toilets of their employers since before 2008. Some employers' households already had water-flush toilets before 2008, and it was the sweeper caste members who cleaned their toilets. Figure 1 shows the ratio of dry latrines and water-flush toilets in employers' households for 50 sweeper caste women in the Sulabh vocational training center. The questionnaire asked these 50 randomly sampled sweeper caste women, each employed to clean between 15 and 20 employers' toilets, which type of toilet was more common, dry or water-flush. The figure shows that 31 sweeper caste women answered that their employers' toilets were both dry and water-flush before 2008. Additionally, 19 women answered that their employers' toilets were all dry latrines.

[§] On November 16, 2014, the exchange rate for 1 Rupee equals 0.02 US dollars (cited from [<http://info.finance.yahoo.co.jp/fx/convert/?a=1&s=INR&t=USD>], 11/15/2014).

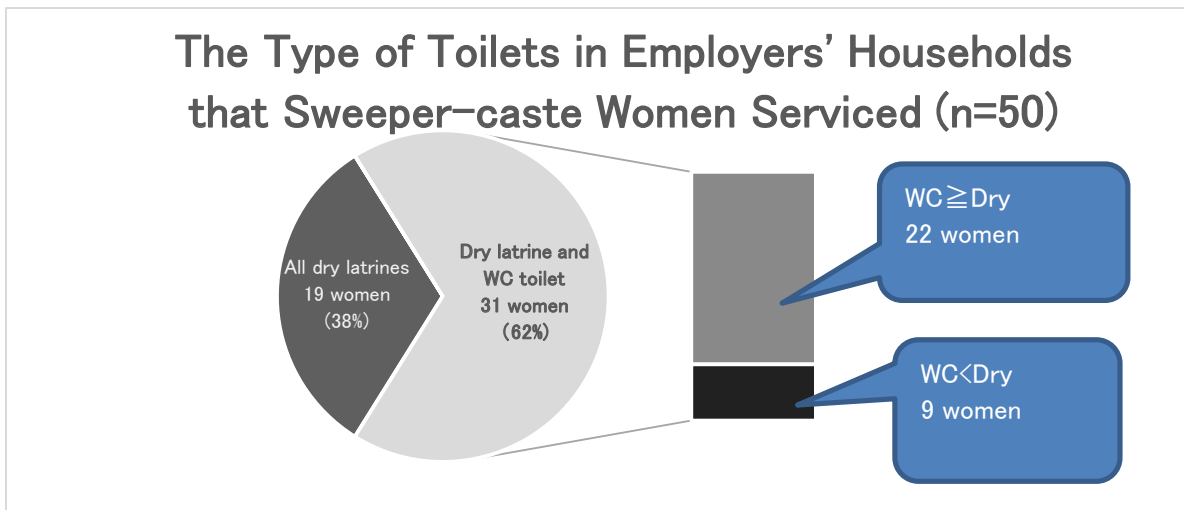


Fig. 1. The type of toilets in employers' households that 50 sweeper caste women in the Sulabh vocational training center in Tonk City serviced.

Although the water-flush toilets structurally do not require the sweeper caste's hands to clean them, this may be because of the lack of other proper jobs for the sweeper caste. The process of cleaning water-flush toilets is to sprinkle a bucket of water on the toilet and then sweep there with a broom, repeating this work two or three times. The process is quite different from that of manual scavenging, and cleaning water-flush toilets does not require directly touching human wastes since it goes directly to an underground pit. Despite this change in the working process, however, and though they did not collect human excreta manually, they were still treated as "polluted," and employers did not touch them. Even cleaning water-flush toilets could not allow the sweeper caste to be fully free of both the image and practice human waste pollution, especially from the perspectives of the upper castes. This fact shows that the discriminatory relationship cannot necessarily be changed only by the installment of water-flush toilets, which can be defined as a technological improvement.

5. Vocational Training for Sweeper caste Women and Transformation of Social Relationship

As mentioned above, the Indian Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment introduced the "Self Employment Scheme for Rehabilitation of Manual Scavengers" to promote rehabilitation of the sweeper caste, in cooperation with civil society. In 2008, Sulabh established a contract with Rajasthan Scheduled Castes and Tribes Finance Development Cooperative Cooperation Ltd (RSCSTFDCC), a part of the Scheduled Castes Development Cooperation that is affiliated with the Ministry of Social Justice and Empowerment. RSCSTFDCC promotes financial assistance for those who engage in socio-economic improvement of the scheduled caste (Dalits) in Rajasthan. The content of the contract is that RSCSTFDCC would provide support 5,847,600 rupees (94,736 US dollars) for Sulabh in order to conduct a year of vocational training for those sweeper caste people who had engaged in manual scavenging. The contract expired on March 2009, and after that, Sulabh has independently been continuing vocational training for the sweeper caste using its own financial resources.

First, in March 2008, Sulabh surveyed how many people engaged in manual scavenging in Tonk City, and it found 225 sweeper caste people who did so. Then, Sulabh started providing job training for 190 women and 35 men (a total of 225 sweeper caste people), starting in 2008, and added 55 more sweeper caste women in 2010, after a second survey. Now, in 2014, 151 sweeper caste women are working in the vocational center. They receive a minimum of 3,000 rupees each month as a stipend, and they earn extra wages according to their work. The content of their work is mainly stitching, tailoring, food-processing, beauty parlor work, and making handicrafts (Figure 2 and 3). However, Sulabh staff in the vocational training center mentioned that quite a few sweeper caste women

there take tailoring orders from their neighbors and do that work while in the vocational training center, so they do not have time to engage in the work that Sulabh has assigned to them.



Fig. 2. A sweeper caste woman tailoring.



Fig. 3. Sweeper caste women making handicrafts.

By using oral life history collected through the participatory observation method, here I would like to illustrate the reaction from sweeper caste women toward the Sulabh vocational training and liberation from the occupation of manual scavenging and cleaning water-flush toilets. Quite a few women insist that they are no longer “polluted” because they changed their job from manual scavenging to stitching or tailoring, which they say are free from the “impurity” of human excreta. I present one case of dialogue between a sweeper caste woman and her ex-employer. One day, after joining the Sulabh vocational training center in 2008, the sweeper caste woman by chance met her former employer in the market. The dialogue collected from the sweeper caste woman’s oral history is below. The narrative was collected in August 2014 at the vocational training center in Tonk.

Ex-employer: “Why do you NOT come to clean our toilets nowadays?”

Sweeper caste woman: “I now go to a vocational training center and I don’t engage in cleaning toilets anymore. So you can do it yourself.”

Ex-employer: “Then I will hire another sweeper caste to clean my toilet.”

Sweeper caste woman: “It’s impossible, since all sweeper caste who had engaged in manual scavenging now go to the vocational training center. Please clean your toilet by yourself.”

Ex-employer: “Then can you find another sweeper caste who doesn’t go to the vocational center?”

Sweeper caste woman: “All women come to the vocational center. We are given good jobs here.”

This dialogue above shows one process of bargaining. The sweeper caste woman gained the bargaining power to negotiate with her former employer, insisting that she no longer has any responsibility to clean the toilet or manually scavenge in the employer’s household. Before joining vocational training, they had no option to engage in a job other than scavenging or cleaning household toilets, but Sulabh provided them with vocational training so they could engage in jobs that are far from “pollution” or “impurity.” This bargaining process illustrates the empowerment of the sweeper caste woman to become an active agent for people who have been discriminated against.

6. Promotion of Communication and Grassroots Leadership for Transformation of Social Relationship

The sweeper caste is gaining the power to negotiate with people who have discriminated against them; however, the relationship between the sweeper caste and their former employers is still full of tension. In order to build mutual relationship, Sulabh promotes various kinds of programs both for the sweeper caste and ex-employers. These programs were held both in Sulabh’s central office in New Delhi and at the vocational training center in Tonk, as well as other places, such as Banaras (northern part of India) and Delhi, taking the form of a trip. In the program,

sweeper caste people, their ex-employers, and Sulabh staff participate in giving speeches and dancing, and then they drink and eat together. Through these programs, Sulabh aims to ease the discriminatory relationship and construct an intimate relationship between the discriminating and the discriminated against. Of course, even before, there were some cases in which the relationship between the employers and sweeper caste was not bad, in which they talked to each other and offered invitations to special ceremonies. However, even in these cases the employers did not try to eat or drink anything with the sweeper caste, since they were thought to be “polluted.” In the program for only the sweeper caste, Sulabh also provides a tour of many parts of India, such as Mumbai, Banaras, Ahmedabad, and so on. These women went to such sightseeing places and there they had lunch or dinner with the founder of Sulabh. In these locations, they visit and pray in holy places where they could not enter before because of “pollution” or “impurity.” These experiences not only increased their confidence, but they also affected their ex-employers and other local people. One of the girls from the sweeper caste in the vocational training center explained that the rumor that the sweeper caste had enjoyed a trip spread to their neighbors, and gradually the sweeper caste women began to construct mutual relationships with their ex-employers, showing photos taken in sightseeing places and talking about their experiences there. That kind of grassroots leadership to break the cycle of taboo has to be examined in more detail, but it can be said that this factor is promoting trust, not just for the women, but also other local people, and enhancing social capital.

Here I would like to touch briefly on the role of Sulabh staff in the vocational training center in constructing a trustful relationship with the sweeper caste and other local people. Two women staff members who are in charge of the vocational training center have been trying to get over the barrier that had been imposed upon the Dalits and sweeper caste by the upper caste, such as not drinking and eating together. These two staff are Muslim and from the upper castes, respectively. They live in an apartment near the vocational training center, where several Dalit (non-sweeper) households live together. As mentioned before, not only the sweeper caste, but all Dalits, have been discriminated against by the upper castes, and they often faced difficulty or had no opportunity to eat and drink with the upper castes. However, these two women live with Dalits who are from the non-sweeper caste. The staff members do not live with the sweeper caste because their houses are very far from the vocational training center, and their residences are united as one colony, so there are few places where they can live in a separate apartment. The two staff members live with Dalits, they always talk with them, and in some festivals or programs, they cook and eat together. That kind of behavior and activities caused these Dalits to trust the staff, and between them, there are mutual relationships being built. In addition, the staff members go to the homes of sweeper caste for work or festivals, entering their houses and drinking and eating the food they provide.

Regarding the reaction from ex-employers and other local people toward the liberated sweeper caste and Sulabh’s activities, quite a few ex-employers have a good impression of both. Some ex-employers from the non-sweeper caste Dalits mention that the sweeper caste no longer engages in manual scavenging, so they can touch them, go to their houses, and drink and eat with them. Other local upper caste people also say that they can now touch members of the sweeper caste. One ex-employer from Panjabi narrates that he can appreciate Sulabh since it tries to raise the people who were seen as the lowest of the low, such as the sweeper caste. He is a school teacher, and in his class, there is a child from the sweeper caste whose mother is working in the vocational training center. He teaches some subjects to her child (his student) in his house after school. Regarding toilets, quite a few employers are now aware of the importance of water-flush toilets rather than dry latrines for better sanitation and health. However, there are still some people, especially in the upper caste, who do not want to interact with the sweeper caste. Some of them mention that they cannot drink and eat anything the sweeper caste made since they are non-vegetarian, have pigs, and eat pork. They also say that they do not go to the festivals of the sweeper caste (even if invited) since they belong to different castes. Here, we can recognize that now they do not use the excuse that the sweeper caste are “polluted.” They have replaced the word “pollution” with various kinds of excuses, such as the difference of caste, food habits, and personal preferences.

7. Conclusion

The role of civil society in easing the discriminatory relationship and realizing community development is divided into three parts. In the case study of Rajasthan, it can be illustrated as in Figure 4 below.

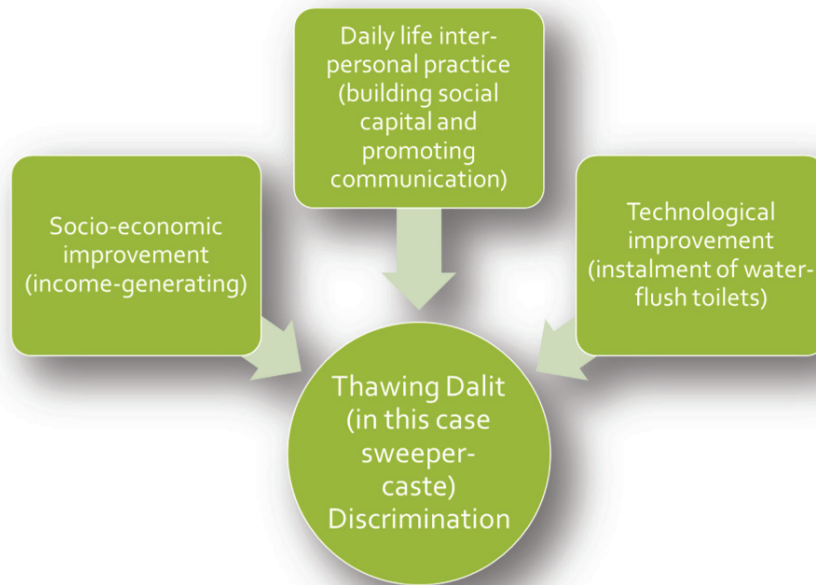


Fig. 4. The role of the NGO in developing an equal relationship.

In this paper, I argued that the matter of the liberation of the sweeper caste, who had been engaged in manual scavenging and cleaning toilets, contained complicated factors. Addressing only one factor cannot solve the problem of discrimination. In this case study, the installment of water-flush toilets alone could not release the sweeper caste from cleaning the toilets of their employers. Vocational training was also important for the sweeper caste in order to give them another job and improve their living standard. However, even these factors were not enough to transform the discriminatory social relationship between the discriminating/discriminated against. Various programs and grassroots leadership that manifested a warm welcome for the sweeper caste, ex-employers, and other local people were important to ease the discriminatory relationship. The role of civil society, from the case of Sulabh, can be expressed as not only to promote technological development of the community, but also to promote grassroots level communication and a transformation of social relationships through microscopic and daily activities. Although the discrimination against the Dalits (in this case, the sweeper caste) cannot be abolished fully and can be reproduced in different forms, the trial of civil society's grassroots efforts to ease the discriminatory relationship on a daily level has to be considered significant and illustrates potential for community development.

However, we are still awaiting several solutions to this issue. At first, some scholars pointed out that Sulabh's organization and its activities are very much like a "top-down system" because there are few official members coming from the sweeper caste itself in Sulabh⁷. Furthermore, in constructing public toilets, especially in urban area in India such as Mumbai and Delhi, complaints about Sulabh's monopoly have been raised by councilors⁶. It is also argued that Dalit discrimination is merely changing its form to a more complicated one. In the public sphere in contemporary India, people do not clarify the norms of caste and do not use the word "pollution" to discriminate against Dalits. Rather, they prefer to use "the difference of food habits" or "living habits" to differentiate between castes, including between the upper caste and the Dalits⁸. However, in the case of Tonk City, Dalit (in this case, the sweeper caste) discrimination consists of not just the sweeper caste and upper caste hierarchical structure, but of the upper caste, lower caste, non-sweeper caste Dalits, Muslims, Sikhs, and many other local people from various origins. Therefore, the situation has to be examined from more multi-dimensional perspectives in the future to adjust for a rapidly changing contemporary Indian society.

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